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NOTES AND NEWS.

Sir Michael Hicks Beach, who is less cautious than a Chancellor of the Exchequer usually is, though not more frank than one would wish him to be, told a Conservative meeting at Edinburgh on Wednesday night that the almost universal opinion throughout Great Britain was in favour of our permanent occupation of Egypt; and he resisted the argument that occupation involved pecuniary loss to the British taxpayer. "Did the British taxpayer," he asked, "get nothing from Egypt? Well, in the first place, he secured that law and order should prevail in a country which was the highway to India. That was a most important benefit." Whence it will be seen that the Chancellor of the Exchequer recognises the pecuniary benefit accruing to the British taxpayer from India. He ought to be asked to give evidence before Lord Welby's Commission—if, indeed, that embarrassed phantom has not departed for ever into the shadows.

We have the pleasure to announce that Mr. W. A. Chambers, editor of the *Bombay Champion*, who has done such good service for India during his recent visit to this country, has accepted the unanimous invitation of the British Committee of the Indian National Congress to be their delegate to the forthcoming Congress at Madras. Mr. Chambers left London for Marseilles on Monday last *en route* for Bombay.

Our readers will remember the Poonamallee shooting case in which an Indian boy was shot in a jutka by Private Knight of the 19th Hussars and left lying wounded in the road. The jury, in the trial which ended on November 2, acquitted the soldier of the more serious charges, but convicted him of "causing death by a rash and negligent act," and censured him and his companion for giving the boy no help when he fell wounded from the jutka. Mr. Justice Boddam, in sentencing the prisoner to nine months' rigorous imprisonment, severely commented on the same point: "I also agree with the observations made by the jury that you and Garrard ought to be ashamed of yourselves, in your position, for driving away leaving that poor boy to die or not to die, without taking any care at all of what became of him when he came by his injury by your carelessness." The *Mahratta* quotes a supposed letter from a lately arrived British soldier which appeared in an English paper, to show that soldiers have already acquired certain views about the Indians before they reach India.

> As for the darkies, they are like stones under our feet. We go up to them, especially if they do not bring us what we want for dinner, get hold of them, and pull their turbans off their heads, and in fact turn them upside down.

But British soldiers are not the only people in India who wish the Indians to be like stones under their feet. A general improvement in the tone of Europeans to Indians is wanted. When the Secretary of State talks of "savages," what wonder if rough soldiers turn the savages upside down!

The *Pioneer*, in an article entitled "A Discredited Currency Scheme," comments in a very drastic way on the evidence of Mr. Finlay before the Currency Committee. It insists that there has been no contraction of currency since the closing of the mints, and that the high rate of exchange has been obtained by reducing the sale of Council Bills and increasing the borrowings in gold. The Government scheme was to maintain exchange by melting a maximum of ten crores of rupees a year, selling the silver bullion thus obtained for gold, and borrowing gold in London to make up the deficiency. For this purpose five millions in gold were to be borrowed at once, but power was to be taken to borrow twenty millions. It is obvious that so costly a scheme required the greatest certainty as to results before it could be justifiable; yet Mr. Finlay was vague in the extreme, being even undecided whether it would take one, two, or three years to raise exchange to the required point.

The *Englishman*, referring to the Calcutta Municipality Bill, thinks proper to defend Sir H. Harrison against a charge of tergiversation. The difficulty of the situation has, according to our contemporary, always lain in the preponderance of Hindu wealth invested in houses. "Sir H. Harrison looked at this wealth in the right way when he rather skilfully overlooked it." But in the days of "the Radical terror" it was necessary to go through "every practical pretence of conciliating Native feeling," so that by exhausting all experiments in Indian self-government public opinion might be brought to desire European control. So that when some years ago Sir H. Harrison professed to think the election of 32 Hindu municipal commissioners out of 48 a fair arrangement, he was only taking part in an elaborate mystification which might be called by a harder name. Truly, a fine defence! The same paper by a careful study of statistics has become convinced that the European and Eurasian ratepayers together are actually a quarter as numerous as the Hindus. This it seems to consider most satisfactory and as obviously removing all objection to the preponderance of Europeans in the Calcutta Municipality.

The death of Mr. Runchodlal Chotalal, of Ahmedabad, the pioneer of cotton factories in that city, gives rise to some reflections. It is a favourite expedient with those who wish to discredit Indian municipal self-government to represent the elected members as mere talkers, despised by the best of their countrymen and useless in the conduct of affairs. Mr. Runchodlal, who was elected President of the Ahmedabad Municipality from the beginning, immediately after Lord Ripon's Act came into force, hardly had the characteristics attributed to the elected commissioner. Having passed his earlier manhood as a Government official, he in later life became a most prosperous and enterprising mill-owner and the founder of a great business. He was thus, from his double experience, an almost ideal member of a municipality. Nor did he, like so many business men, allow his private affairs to keep him from his public duties. The *Champion* says: "His municipal activity was phenomenal and staggered many a younger citizen." He has died, full of years, having done much to promote the prosperity of his native city, and not a little to increase the good name of the Indian people.

The demands submitted by the Afridi jirga on October 27, apart from special petitions by individuals and by sections, were seven: (1) Reduction of salt duty; (2) restoration of their fugitive wives; (3) permission for Sarwar Khan, of Hangu, to return to his home; (4) that the Khyber Maliks should be recalled from Kabul; (5) that the subsidy should be paid from the date on which they made good the original demands of the Government by paying in their fine and rifles; (6) that Afridi native officers should be appointed to the new Khyber Militia; and (7) that compensation should be paid for damage done to the mills in Ali Musjid and the villages in the Khyber. The demands (1), (2), and (7) were refused; in (3) and (4)

the Government would not interfere; as to (6), the Afridis would get their fair share; and as to (5) the subsidies would take effect as from three months before their restoration. Probably the last is, in the eyes of the Afridis, the most important point. The Kambar Khels were absent, being engaged in patching up a truce between two sections of the tribe who have been at feud; but the tribes represented undertook to be responsible for them, and no doubt they will put in an appearance. There appears to have been not a little of individual dissent, some of the clansmen "giving vent to their feelings of disaffection by grumbling and an open display of sullenness and discontent." It is stated that "some of the Native contractors resident in Peshawar, and the bad characters who take refuge in its bazaars, were industriously spreading false reports among the tribesmen as to the policy and intentions of the Government," with a view to a movement of troops from which they would derive profit. If this be all, there is very little in it. But beyond this there are but too grave reasons for doubting the permanence of the whole arrangement.

An Anglo-Indian correspondent writes:—When the Indian mail of November 5 left, the so-called "settlement" with the Afridis concerning the Khyber had been announced; but much anxiety prevailed as to what new unsettlement might arise with the advent of the new Viceroy. Though for reasons already alluded to in your columns, our apprehensions in this respect have been somewhat allayed, the Indian public cannot avoid fears founded on Lord Curzon's former, often ostentatious, advocacy of political and military adventures amongst the barren mountains far beyond the frontiers of "her Majesty's Indian possessions." It will be as difficult for his lordship to disperse such ominous forecasts as it would be for him to escape from his own shadow. So rumour in India insists on associating His Excellency's advent with some fresh demonstration of "Imperial" (that is, spread-eagle) policy which has cost India so dear. One surmise in this direction is consonant with his lordship's grand style. This supposition points to the possibility of its being arranged for him to be the central figure in a very grand Durbar to be held in February or March at one of the great centres in Northern India (say, Rawal Pindi or Lahore) somewhat after the fashion of that held by Lord Dufferin at Umballa when H.H. Abdul Rahman was invited. Many things have happened since then; amongst others H.H. the Amír is so many years older—though, also, he is more firmly seated, thanks mainly to the lavish subsidies granted to him from Indian revenues. Yet because of his now firmer seat his Highness may well be willing to accept an invitation to such a splendid *tamasha* to welcome and do honour to the brand-new Viceroy who goes out amidst so many profuse eulogies. Of course the occasion will be taken once more to impress the Amír with a display of the overwhelming military resources at the command of the Indian Government. No doubt the show will cost a good many lakhs of (debased) rupees; but what of that? The revenue is said to be coming in freely, and what Gradgrind will grudge outlay that will in the eyes of Russia and the rest of the world so largely enhance the political "prestige" of the Queen Empress's new and hopeful representative? After all, such a display will cost incomparably less than Lord Elgin's invasions of High Asia and "punishment" of the Afridis. Besides it is always a wiser and more conservative policy to invite Afghan and other distant potentates to come within our borders than to send armies into their fastnesses.

The *Champion* justly holds that "the Tenancy Bills the State is passing now and again, here, there, and everywhere, are mere palliatives, the purest of pure superficial remedies." The Bengal Tenancy Act, in its thirteen years' operation, has not been without its good effects in a small way, but it has never effected the primary ends of its enactment. The Government, contemplating the official reports, however, and "carried away by the illusion, have been tinkering at a Punjab Tenancy Act and a Madras one; and meanwhile they have just managed to pass, in spite of protests from the only non-official representative of the province, the Central Provinces Tenancy Act." All this is only further illustration of the well-known fact that the Government officials are better aware of the point where the shoe pinches than the wearer of the shoe himself.

The first question, as the *Champion* points out, is: how to relieve the pressure on the soil for the means of subsistence? We have always held that it is no question of over-population in the ordinary sense. British India does not grow enough to feed its population within about a crore of human beings; and yet it is pre-eminently an agricultural country. The problem is a most pressing one in view of the constantly increasing number of mouths to feed—not an abnormal increase in comparison with other civilised countries, but a natural increase in conformity with the circumstances. The remedy lies on the other side of the account. It must come from an increased productiveness of the soil. The reclamation of waste will not suffice, neither can its results become immediately available. The *Champion* therefore asks:—

> What then is to be done in order to find food for the growing population—food which will give at least 583 lbs. per annum per head, as computed by the Famine Commission of 1880? The Government has hitherto made no sign whatever to face this problem. The belly must somehow be provided for. If you do not do it the day must come when the belly will revolt. This is the greatest internal foe which the State has to cope with.

The paramount question, however, is the second: how to improve the present deteriorated condition of the peasantry? Both Dr. Voelcher and Dr. Leather have urged the necessity of more manure. The soil, if left unfed and continuously cropped, will wear out and die; and it may well be doubted whether in many districts the downward process has not begun or proceeded to some considerable extent. The rayat has become impoverished; he is unable to purchase the necessary domestic fuel; and so he is driven to burn the manure that ought to go to the fertilisation of his fields. There can be but one end to this process of agricultural economy. The question now arises: why is the rayat so shockingly poor? "The burden of the land assessment," answers the *Champion*, "is at the root of his whole impoverishment;" "the assessments in almost every part of the country are too oppressive and killing." How can there be prosperity in a land where at least three out of every four rayats are practically rack-rented? And why are they rack-rented? Let the extravagance of the Government—especially on useless and unnecessary frontier fighting—answer the question. The Government have created their own Frankenstein. Let them at once proceed to uncreate him. There is no other method of effectually releasing the rayats from their hopeless depression: and it is not to be forgotten that the rayats are the very backbone of the revenue. Here is a first-class opportunity for the statesmanship of Lord Curzon —an opportunity and a test.

It has long been recognised that all important legislation in India should be brought forward when the Legislative Council is held in the capital, and not at the Hills, where the Government is more than ever out of touch with public feeling. A breach of this salutary custom in the Province of Madras was lately received with strong protests. Now the same evil has cropped up in a still more exalted sphere, for the Central Provinces Tenancy Act has been carried through the Governor-General's Council while sitting at Simla. The *Champion* sees in this a mere piece of vanity on the part of Lord Elgin. There was no hurry for the measure; but the Viceroy having arranged to visit Burma, and knowing that on his return he would have to give place to Lord Curzon, was anxious to have his name associated with at least one big piece of legislation. Meantime the real problems of agriculture remain untouched. The yield of the land continues small; poverty compels the farmer to use his manure as fuel; and the exhaustion of the soil is therefore bound to increase. But the greater the poverty the greater the power of the usurer. Is it an extravagant view to connect this poverty in its origin with the pressure of the land-tax? The impoverishment of land and landowner is the true difficulty of Indian agriculture.

The vehemence of the plague appears to have transferred itself from Bombay to Bangalore; and cases are reported from Karachi and one of the districts of the Central Provinces. The latest report from Bombay indicates a slight decrease in the city and Presidency. The *Times of India* (November 15) declared that "all fear of the plague has

vanished from the minds of the people of Bombay." It is satisfactory to learn that the presence of danger had the practical effect of a vigorous reduction of the insanitariness of the surroundings. The number of points of possible attack has been sensibly diminished. The *Times of India*, however, is still aware of evil smells, and admits that Bombay "may still be described as an insanitary city with several permanent plague centres existing in such districts as Mandri, Khumbharwada and Cammatteepoora." These centres, however, "can only be efficiently dealt with by extensive road openings, and by no less extensive demolition of infected buildings and the erection of new houses." It will be well not to forget the character of the soil. The purification of these malefic centres will be an expensive job. But the lesson of the plague visitations will it may be hoped be laid to heart, and a resolute cleansing be accomplished—and maintained.

The riot reported at Seringapatam on October 18 seems a big enough affair to be designated by a larger name. There had been an earlier riot got up by as many as "1,000 Hindus and Mahometans of the fisherman class"—the report does not say why. Some prisoners had been taken by the police, and what is called "a plague riot"—possibly with reference to the first disturbance—arose, apparently for the rescue of the prisoners who had been captured. The rioters were armed "with guns, swords, axes, and other weapons." The military police fired on the mob, killing two and wounding several; and then the Mysore State Cavalry, some 50 strong, charged them and temporarily dispersed them. By and by, however, the rioters were reinforced "to the number of 10,000 by contingents from the villages," and marched upon Seringapatam and made a desperate attempt to carry the fort in which the prisoners had been lodged for greater safety. Again the police fired, killing and wounding several. An hour later another large body approached on the opposite side of the town, but were stopped "by volleys from the police," with an increased tale of killed and wounded. Evidently it was a serious affair—"the most serious and determined riot which has occurred lately." The police were under arms for nearly 36 hours at a stretch; 134 prisoners were despatched by special train to Bangalore and lodged in gaol; and the Diwan of Mysore sent 100 dismounted Imperial Service Lancers to help the authorities in case of further trouble. But what is the cause of such a disturbance? If it arose from the plague administration—as apparently it did—there must have been some grievous mismanagement.

Mr. H. S. Khalil on his return to India from this country, where he has been an active and useful member of the British Committee of the Indian National Congress, the London Indian Society, and the Anjuman-i-Islam, has received many tokens of the regard of his colleagues. The London Indian Society, at a meeting on November 12, unanimously resolved: "That the London Indian Society, deeply sensible of the valuable services of Mr. H. S. Khalil, records with great gratification the just sense which it entertains of the zeal, ability and diligence with which he executed his duties as a member and as a vice-president; and in view of his coming departure to India wishes him a safe voyage and all success in his career." Mr. Dadabhai Naoroji presided at a party given in Mr. Khalil's honour by the London Indian Society on November 20, and the following resolution was unanimously adopted on the motion of Mr. Romesh C. Dutt: "That this party wishes Mr. H. S. Khalil, the guest of the evening, a safe journey, a happy voyage, and a successful career." On November 19 a dinner-party in honour of Mr. Khalil was given at the Holborn Restaurant by the Anjuman-i-Islam. Mr. M. R. Hassan, who presided, spoke of the services rendered by Mr. Khalil to the society. "He had not only done his very best to serve his community, but his zeal in the service of his country was well known. He had won the admiration and respect of all with whom he had come in contact." Responding to the toast of his health, Mr. Hassan said that he did not share the pessimistic view sometimes taken of the future of Mahometans. "He hoped that when they had reached the top of the ladder they would work hand in hand with other communities for the welfare of their country."

The *Times of India* pays a well deserved tribute to Sir Charles Nairne, who retires on the assumption of the Command-in-Chief by Sir William Lockhart. "A chivalrous high-minded man, and an exponent of the same sterling qualities which won for his regretted brother the affection and respect of his contemporaries in the Bombay Civil Service, he has always seemed to those who know him to respond to the best ideal of the military character." He has had 42 years' experience of India. Lord Roberts discerned his ability, and "was happily able," as he has publicly stated, "to induce the Government to revive in him the appointment of Inspector-General of Artillery." His work in this office "will leave a permanent influence for good upon the artillery in India." His command of the Meerut District, and his command-in-chief of the forces in the Bombay Presidency, are fresh in memory. "The characteristic of his work has been thoroughness, and a consistent and evenly distributed determination to bring all parts of the army up to a high standard of excellence." It is a pleasure to be able to join unreservedly in praise of a career of 42 years' service in India in responsible office.

Mr. Justice Ranade, in view of the December meeting of the Social Conference, has addressed the usual circular letter to the various Social Reform Associations, requesting brief reports of work done during the year in promotion of the cause and inviting suggestions of subjects for discussion. His own list numbers 13 points: (1) the promotion of higher female education—probably the most far-reaching and the most pressing of all the matters enumerated; (2) temperance; (3) the working of the Mysore marriage laws; (4) the amalgamation of two Bills already drafted for prevention of infant marriages; (5) the regulation of religious and charitable endowments; (6) the working of the Malabar marriage laws; (7) the Gains of Learning Bill (Madras Council); (8) child-widows, with especial reference to the support given to the cause of widow-marriage by the Hon. Bawa Khemsing Bedi, the Guru of the Sikhs; (9) removal of hindrances to re-admission of those that have gone beyond sea or been converted to other faiths; (10) extravagant expenditure in connexion with marriages and deaths; (11) inter-marriages in divisions of the same caste who can dine together; (12) anti-nautch and purity movements; and (13) elevation of the condition of the pariahs and other out-caste population. The bill is a very full one, and its extreme importance is obvious.

It is an excellent sign that the subscriptions to the Tilak Defence Fund have come from all parts of India. According to the *Bengalee*, of the Rs. 53,378 raised, 10,000 came from Calcutta and 11,000 from Bombay, while Guzerat, Sindh, Madras, Central India, and even Burma contributed. This is a real proof of the unity of feeling which is growing up throughout the country. We do not doubt that, like all those who mix in politics, Mr. Tilak has had his share of controversy even with his own countrymen; but thanks to his prosecution by the Government and his long imprisonment, he finds himself at present the most universally popular man in India.

There are some rather black spots in the report of the Acting Inspector-General on the working of the railway police last year on the three lines under the control of the Bombay Government. On the G. I. P., 24 out of 27 cases of housebreaking with intent to steal remained undetected; on the Southern Mahratta, in only 2 out of 13 similar cases was a conviction obtained; and on the Bombay, Baroda, and Rajputana, only 5 convictions were achieved on 79 cases. "The general conclusion to which the returns point," says the *Times of India*, "is that further expenditure may be profitably incurred not only in such an increase in the pay of the men as will induce a more intelligent class of recruits to join the railway police, but in improving the status of the subordinate officers." The strain induced by the famine and the plague is to be taken into account, but evidently the quality of the men is unsatisfactory, just because the pay and position are inadequate. The inefficiency also comes out disgracefully in the recovery—or rather the non-recovery—of stolen property. As to the G. I. P., Mr. Goldsmid reports: "I am almost ashamed to deal with this; the police have been terribly unsuccessful in dealing with stolen property." The Bombay-Baroda-Rajputana shows even worse results. The report reveals a state of things that can only be called discreditable in the extreme.

LANCASHIRE AND INDIA.

THE manufacturing districts of Lancashire have in many ways occupied a unique position in the life of England. Few parts of the country have been so completely identified with one dominant industry; in no trade has the organisation of the workers been at once so widely spread and so skilfully constituted, so complete and so successful; and nowhere has there been so great a disposition to take large general views and to connect the local well-being with the great currents of the life of the nation and the world. The people have indeed been led to this habit in great measure by the history and condition of their local industry, the development of which has depended on events in very distant spheres. It is customary to assign the rise of the cotton manufacture on a great scale to the improvements in machinery during the eighteenth century; but it really required another condition, a world-wide trade. Kay's fly-shuttle had to wait twenty-two years before it came into use in the very year when manufacture for export began, and the spinning machine of Paul and Wyatt had a similar fate. Nor, to take an example from a later period, are the sufferings of the cotton famine yet forgotten. If all this has led the people of Lancashire to view the affairs of the world from a trade standpoint, it has at least given them a lively interest in outside events. They have always been ready to receive new lights; they have never shut their ears to facts; and they have shown themselves willing to discuss various policies in a spirit of candour. It is in this environment that Mr. Dadabhai Naoroji has lately been addressing a series of meetings with the object of creating a clear understanding between Lancashire and India.

Many things have happened of late which can hardly have failed to shake the confidence of the English people in the complacent assumptions of typical Anglo-Indian officials. Some may have begun to ask themselves whether war, pestilence, and famine were honourable fruits of a hundred and fifty years of British rule. Mr. Naoroji undertook to show that the present system of government inflicted a material and moral loss not only on India, but on England also, and that the real interests of the two countries were identical; and obviously whatever is to the loss of England falls with especial severity on the great manufacturing and exporting county of Lancashire which has possession of nearly two-thirds of our trade to the East Indies. To take the question of material loss first, his argument may be briefly summarised. India is impoverished by the drain of her wealth to England: she is therefore unable to buy English products; and so for the benefit of Anglo-Indian officials a costly system of government is maintained at the expense of the poor peasants of India and the industrious population of Lancashire. The interests of Lancashire and India are identical. To some this is possibly a new doctrine. It may be well therefore to go into the matter a little more closely. That the exports from the United Kingdom to India are very small is obvious at the first glance—less than one-tenth of the whole exports, and only amounting to sixteenpence per head of the Indian population. The exports to nearly all foreign countries much exceeded eighteenpence per head. To some of them and to the chief British Colonies, in spite of protective tariffs, they were enormously greater. It can hardly be doubted that if the wealth of India increased, the imports from England would increase likewise. How stands the matter then? India is admittedly very poor. On this very poor country we have imposed the most expensive system of government in the world; we have insisted on the maintenance of a great army; and we have imposed the whole cost of a war beyond the frontier, which had in no way added to the prosperity of the people. Can it be doubted that if the Government had required less for purposes of war and administration, some part of the surplus which would have remained in the pockets of the people would have been spent in the purchase of foreign goods to the great advantage of Lancashire which enjoys so large a share of the trade to India? Thus the waste of wealth which has resulted from the "forward" policy has touched not only the Indian taxpayer, but the Lancashire workman as well, so close is the connexion between the prosperity of the two countries.

But there is really a still closer connexion between Lancashire and India. The fundamental fact of Indian finance is the terrible drain of wealth to Europe. Whether India be rich or poor, happy in peace and plenty or racked by war, pestilence and famine, she has to lay down in London a vast sum for home charges, pensions and interest on debt, and this can be met only by exporting more than she imports or by borrowing in England. If to this be added the savings sent home by the aliens who govern or exploit the country, no surprise need be felt that in a single year the exports exceeded the imports by Rx. 35,000,000, and that as soon as this excess began to fall off the Indian Government had to borrow in London to make up the amount required. This is the plunder of India, by whatever name Lord Curzon may choose to call it. But the people of Lancashire would take a very narrow view of the economic situation if they were to think that the only effect of this excess of exports over imports is to diminish the purchasing power of the Indians by that amount. This in itself is a serious matter enough, but the evil as it affects Lancashire goes much deeper. The people of that county have always protested, rightly or wrongly, against the "protection" of the Indian cotton manufacture by a tariff. They have objected to an import duty on Lancashire cottons even though it were for purposes of revenue. They have insisted that in India the native industry and the products of Lancashire should have a fair field and no favour. Are they aware that the drain of wealth from India acts as a "protection" of Indian industry, though a protection of the worst kind from which both England and India suffer? It is a well-known economic law that a tribute—and forced payments to another country have the economic effects of a tribute, under whatever name they may be known—not only takes from the tributary nation the amount paid, but raises against them the price of all foreign goods. As John Stuart Mill puts it:—

> The paying country will give a higher price for all that it buys from the receiving country, while the latter, besides receiving the tribute, obtains the exportable produce of the tributary country at a lower price.

Thus the effect of the drain on India is that the Indians have to force a foreign market for their own goods by lowering the price and cheapening production, while they have to pay higher for foreign goods than they otherwise would. But what is this but a "protection" of their own manufactures? Thus Bombay cottons gain an advantage over Lancashire cottons; but this advantage is gained in the worst possible way. By having to offer the produce of India at low prices in order to force a market, the standard of life is lowered, and the "protection" thus gained for native manufacturers therefore depends upon the low pay of the Indian workers. Indian cottons are given an advantage over Lancashire cottons, but India does not gain what Lancashire loses; the ultimate gainers are those to whom India has to make such large payments in London. India is exploited for the benefit of Englishmen; but the mass of the English people are losers and not gainers by the exploitation.

And if there is a material loss in which Englishmen and Indians share, the same is true of the moral loss involved. India loses the capacity for self-government which necessarily follows long exclusion from administration. But the moral loss to England will be still greater if the English come to believe that their mission lies, not in building up the life and industry of a free people, but in ruling and exploiting weaker races. The theories of arbitrary despotism will replace the maxims of freedom; and a moral plague will be silently spread in the hearts of the people. Thus from whatever point of view the question be approached, whether it be considered in relation to England or India, whether it be considered as a question of economics and industry or of political and moral health, the same result is reached. The prosperity of India is of vital importance not to India only, but to England; and the economic drain which impoverishes the Indians is felt also by the people of Lancashire. Mr. Naoroji has been distinguished among his countrymen by his belief in the good feeling of the mass of Englishmen towards the people of India. He has given the English full credit for desiring justice and hating oppression. For the errors of the Anglo-Indian Government he has never held them responsible save by indifference and ignorance. It is therefore in accordance with his whole career that he should endeavour to rouse their interest in his country and make them acquainted with the facts that lie at the root of India's misfortunes. To him it has seemed that if the

English only knew the true state of affairs, the evils would be remedied, even though it should involve some loss to England. How much more, then, when the loss is in the other direction, when to remedy India's wrongs is to increase the wealth of England, and when the path of justice is also the way to prosperity.

THE INDIAN IN AUSTRALIA.

IMPERIALISM is the grand "boom" of the day. The Lord Sirdar has dissipated the Khalifa and Mr. Rhodes's railway carriages are to bear Cook's tourists between Cairo and Capetown; we shall have our slice of China one of these days; in a word Lord Salisbury's foot is down, and Whig and Tory are holding firm in the "Imperial position." That is the "heroic" side of the business. There are some, however, who look round about this Imperialism and allow the eye to rest for a little on certain other aspects of it where the gilt is not quite so garish. If there is to be any good whatever in Imperialism it must be brought into operation by the serious and honourable performance of the duties arising upon the assertion of "rights." This is a rather more onerous task, and a task that does not so readily conduce to popular glorification of the Imperial agent. It is not necessary to detract from the value of the services of Lord Kitchener, or to cavil at their reward; but one cannot but contrast his glories with the official treatment of the late Sir George Grey, whose final resting-place in St. Paul's was left to the determination of an appreciative member of the staff of a morning newspaper. Your quiet official, who masters his business and treats it in the tone of real Imperialism, is rather held down and contemned than supported and honoured. And the officialism of the grooves is amply seconded by the selfishness of commercialism and the pride of race. We have recently exposed the contemptible narrowness and prejudice which have led our South African "Imperialists" to mete out flagrant injustice to their Indian fellow-subjects in their respective colonies. To-day we have to draw attention to the base imitation practiced by older colonies in Australia. Loyal and proud of the English connexion as Indians are, they may well be excused if they ask themselves, when they find themselves in our colonies at least, what after all is the Union Jack to them? It is for thoughtful people to examine and explode this dangerous cant of Imperialism with which the country is so foolishly deluding itself.

The Natal Immigration Restriction Act has been imitated in New South Wales and in Western Australia, and Victoria is closely following the bad lead. The New South Wales and Western Australia Acts have received the royal assent, and Victoria is hurrying up. When we last heard of it the Victorian Bill had passed the Legislative Assembly and had gone before the Legislative Council, which had referred it to a select committee. The minutes of evidence taken before that committee are now before us. They are very instructive. The Bill is ostensibly directed to the exclusion of "any person who, when asked to do so, shall fail to write out in his own handwriting in some European language" his application claiming exemption from the operation of the Act. This test, capacity to write some European language, would obviously exclude from the country many useful citizens, not by any means all of them Asiatics; and, not to come nearer home, the Acting Consul for Italy stated in his evidence that the rule would exclude 25 per cent. of the Italian immigrants. On the other hand, as Mr. H. H. Manghirmalani has pointed out in the *Melbourne Age*, the use of Arabic characters would admit a large variety of Asiatics as well as immigrants from Turkey in Europe. But these difficulties are readily got over. Captain Currie, "the only man in the colonies who owns foreign ships," "the only man with 'Melbourne' on the stern of the ships that go to those ports in India and China and show that there is such a place as Melbourne in existence"—so he said—gave this as one of his objections to the Bill:—

> While it professes to do one thing it is intended to do something wholly different. It leaves to the discretion or indiscretion of any Customs officer an almost unlimited power. It is deliberately intended to be one law for one man and another law for another—that is to my notion the deliberate intention of the Bill. It substitutes partiality for justice, and the whim of any official for the even-handed procedure which is the boast of all English law. In "Hansard," page 313, Mr. Best says: "The keystone of the Bill was that the Government, in administering it, would not administer it as an educational test to white and coloured persons alike, but would simply administer the test to persons who came within what was the real object of the Bill, who came within the definition of coloured races whose influx we wished to prevent."

Such is the ingenuous confession of Mr. Best, the Commissioner of Customs. Two of the other witnesses expressly pointed to the real object of the Bill, affirming that while it aims generally at Asiatics it is in fact directed against Indians. The case against Chinamen is hopelessly discredited by the evidence. How much more the case against Indians who are fellow subjects! Essur Singh, who had served under the English colours for seventeen years and has a pension and three medals, put the case in a nutshell:

> "You want to stop Indian people coming here," he said; "that is not fair. I belong to England, but you stop my countrymen, and India will stop your countrymen—it is not fair. There are plenty of Englishmen in India; if we cannot have your land, Englishmen cannot have my land. If you read to me in my language I can tell you what it is, but not in English. . . . . It is not fair to stop us from coming here; we belong to England."

The factitious character of the whole movement is only too painfully obvious. The very first objection taken by Captain Currie in his evidence was that the Bill is "unnecessary, because the influx of Asiatics it is intended to prevent is really too trifling to call for legislation." He continued:—

> Including Chinese, the Asiatic immigration for ten years has only exceeded the emigration by 484 people, and even this apparent increase is fictitious, for every immigrant coming by sea is duly recorded (and few or none come overland), but nothing is added to the figures for emigration—for those who leave the colony overland—though it is notorious that the bulk of the Afghans and Hindus do not remain in Victoria, but find occupation in New South Wales and Queensland with camel teams and on sugar plantations, etc., nor do the figures given make any allowance for deaths. If these factors were taken into account, it is probable that the entire apparent increase of 484 in ten years would disappear, and as regards Asiatics there would be nothing to legislate against.

Even the Solicitor-General does not claim that more than about 3,000 Asiatics arrived in the years 1895-6-7, and he admits that "a little over one-half that number left the colony." The Indians appear to number less than one-third the number of Chinese. Why are they to be excluded on an educational test? Is it because of their character? Captain Currie says "they are a very steady law-abiding race." The Hon. James C. Campbell says they perform their duties "remarkably well." Mr. William Siddeley, Melbourne agent of the British India Steam Navigation Company, said:—

> In clause 3 I consider sub-clause (*a*) is a most unjust clause to be inserted in any Bill. It is an underhand way of dealing with a number of British subjects. The class of men who come down here are not what many people appear to imagine, or at any rate the whole of them are not; many of them are fine upstanding men who have been in the police or other employment in India; they pay their own passages, and they are not the undesirable immigrants that many people imagine. We understand this Bill is intended to deal with them only.

Mr. Abraham Davis, an importer, who said he had "done business largely with them (Hindus) since their arrival here (Melbourne) in the last ten or twelve years," gave evidence as follows:—

> 315. By the Hon. F. S. Grimwade: Are they steady industrious men?—I have trusted those men with £3,000 or £4,000, and the proportion of losses I have had with them is very much less than those I have had with Europeans. To-day I received a considerable sum of money from a Hindu who I had been told was a defaulter and whose account I had written off as bad. It appeared he had been robbed by a European and was ashamed to come down, but having worked for two years and earned the money he came down and paid me.
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> 316. By the Hon. Lieut.-Colonel F. T. Sargood: They are charged with being a nuisance up the country; do you know anything to justify such a charge?—I have received many hundreds of letters from farmers and others addressed in my care to Hindus, and they are couched in the same friendly terms as letters from one European to another—the familiar chit-chat is repeated to me. The Hindu is asked to execute various little commissions for the farmer and his family. The Hindus have an average indebtedness among the farmers of £50; that is to say, there might be about £30,000 or £40,000 owing by the farmers to the Hindus—that does not look as if they were a nuisance.
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> 317. By the Hon. J. Balfour: They trust the farmers?—Yes.
>
> 318. Do they lose much?—Yes. I am certain the Hindus lose more from the farmers than I lose from the Hindus. They are frequently put off until next harvest, and so on, until they are obliged to go away and abandon the money.

Nor is Mr. Davis's evidence discredited by the evidence of Mr. L. T. Potter, "a constable of police, employed as a clerk in the detective office," who said he had information

from several merchants that these men (Indian hawkers up country) owe them from £1,500 to £3,000." Besides, this man's evidence is absurdly vague, and not tested by cross-examination or by production of either documents or creditors. Yet even Potter, who compiles the *Police Gazette*, and has "instructions to report any case where an offence has been committed by the Indians," says he "does not see that they are a nuisance at all." "As regards their dirty appearance," he adds, "it is only due to the fact they are only here for a short time when they come down for their licenses; they might herd together, but it is only for a few days. It is not the general rule for them to stay like that for months, but they like to be together in a strange country." So Mr. C. J. Eassie, sanitary inspector for the city of Fitzroy, said:

At present we have two houses at 122 and 124, Young Street, occupied by Mahometans. I have never had to prosecute those men for any offence against the Health Act.

456. Are they orderly?—Very.

457. Do they keep the place in a proper sanitary state?—Yes, I have only to speak to them and they will do anything I want.

Once more, Mr. Benjamin Ford, City Inspector of Factories and Lodging-Houses in Melbourne:—

448. By the Hon. Lieut.-Colonel Sir F. T. Sargood: Are they law-abiding people?—I have found them very peaceable; I have never been interfered with in carrying out my duties. They have always been civil, though I have had to wake them by going at very early hours in the morning.

449. By the Hon. J. Balfour: Are they dissipated?—I have seen several cases of drunkenness among the Hindus, not among the Mahometans—I have not seen anything very serious.

450. By the Hon. the Chairman: Have you seen as many cases of drunkenness in proportion as among the Europeans?—No, I do not think they are as bad as the Europeans.

Now though there are very few Indians for this enactment to operate upon, they are a mixed company: Madrassis (Tamils and Christians), domestic servants; Sindis, merchants ("very wealthy race of people, and import silks and fancy goods from China and Japan; educated 'in their own language'"); Bengalees manufacture and sell embroidery, "very peaceful, quiet people"; Sikhs, principally hawkers; Punjabis, Afghans, Kashmiris, and apparently one Parsi, one Nipali, and one Gurkha. The only indication of annoyance is attributed to the Sikh and Punjabi hawkers, and this on a complete misunderstanding as is clearly shown in evidence. On this point the detective clerk Potter may be taken as conclusive:—

I would agree with Mr. Davis in that respect that it is their over desire to sell their goods that would lead a European to imagine that they were threatening, though I have heard of instances where they have made free with residents of the country to a certain extent, intimidating the women; but it is due to Europeans treating them too familiarly. I know where Indian hawkers are treated quite like one of the family; they are brought in and supplied with butter, eggs, milk and flour, free of cost, and they take advantage of that. When they go to the next place, they think they will be treated in the same way, and that is how the trouble arises.

Clearly, then, the Bill is absolutely factitious. The number of persons it applies to is insignificant; the number it is really aimed at is utterly negligeable. The Indians, who are the admitted *bêtes noires*, are unquestionably peaceable, inoffensive, clean, industrious, and well-behaved. If any are disorderly on occasion, the ordinary law can control them. This obnoxious legislation is simply a racial discrimination. One remarkable point is this: the Solicitor-General, in moving the second reading, said the Bill "represented an agreement arrived at by the Premiers of all the Australian colonies." Our fellow-subjects, then, from India—that jewel of the English Crown—are boycotted by the Australian Premiers! It is even alleged that Mr. Chamberlain was, and is, in the conspiracy to boycott. We read again his speech to the Indian deputation on behalf of the South African Indians, and decline to believe that the allegation is well grounded. But now is the time for him to speak out and declare whether he considers colonial legislation of this sort to be compatible with Imperialism, or with common sense and humane feeling.

THE STORY OF CHITRAL.[1]

SIR GEORGE ROBERTSON tells in this book the story of his mission to Chitral, of the tragic events at Koragh and Reshun, and of the famous siege of the fort which he and his comrades so valiantly defended. It is a miserable tale of useless pain and wasted heroism, of splendid deeds which only undid the evil that need never have been done, of the slaughter of brave soldiers and of the sufferings of men and beasts. Cool courage and devotion are there in plenty; nor is it without instruction to see how the contempt the European so often feels for the Oriental disappears in the hour of danger. Sir George Robertson at least is always ready to acknowledge the heroism and abnegation of his Indian companions, and the book is full of examples of their unselfish attachment to their officers and their readiness to die at the post of duty. All the interest of romance is found in the narrative of those weeks spent in the crowded fort at Chitral, the enemies approaching closer day by day, while the besieged, unmoved by sickness and semi-starvation, kept always on the watch to check their every artifice. Sir George is always modest, but his modesty only makes the heroic deeds of the beleaguered garrison stand out more clearly in the light.

But all the splendour of endurance and victory cannot hide the lamentable mistakes of a policy which proved so fatal to many brave men, and so nearly disastrous to the British arms. It is interesting to see that Sir George Robertson and Colonel Hutchinson, whose work on Tirah we lately noticed, agree in tracing our troubles beyond the frontier to the agreement between the Amír and Sir Mortimer Durand which led to the Boundary Delimitation Commission. Here is what Sir George says on the matter:—

To the superficial observer nothing could seem more statesmanlike than to lay down distinct boundaries demarcating respectively the spheres of influence of the Amír of Afghanistan and the Government of India, and so to prevent all fear of collision between those two powers. A weak point in the plan was the practical ignoring of all the intervening tribes, who as they owed allegiance neither to the Afghan chief nor to the Government of India, not unnaturally objected to what they imagined was the parcelling out of their country without their consent.

And after pointing out what an opportunity this gave to those who wished to play on the fanaticism of the tribesmen, he continues:—

Much blood and treasure have already been expended at different times on account of that well-intentioned agreement which, though made in the utmost good faith and simplicity on our side, was from its very nature foredoomed to failure, temporarily, at any rate.

Now good faith and simplicity are excellent moral qualities; but when they lead to bloodshed and ruinous expenditure we may be pardoned for wishing a little prudence and knowledge in their place. It is an extraordinary defence of a Government which has at its disposal resources for obtaining the best information, to appeal to the simplicity with which it erred; and when we take into account the ravings of the "forwards," it is difficult to avoid the conclusion that if the Government was really innocent its simplicity must have been abused by the advocates of a policy that cannot be reconciled with good faith. Colonel Hutchinson has indeed traced another cause of disturbance in our latest troubles beyond the frontier, and that was our interference in Chitral and our decision not to evacuate the country. Sir George says nothing about this; but when one considers the history of our dealings with Chitral, it is not surprising that the trans-frontier war which he thought inevitable as early as 1894 should have broken out first in that country.

From 1857 till his death in 1892, Chitral was ruled by Aman-ul-Mulk, "the great Mehtar," a man who with all the ruthlessness of his people combined the qualities most necessary for his situation. His firm will imposed a certain order on his wild subjects, and during his long reign he remained in spite of many temptations the faithful ally of the English. On his death his throne was seized by his second son, whose cruelties soon exhausted the patience of his subjects. They called in Sher Afzul, the great Mehtar's brother, who had long been an exile at the Court of Afghanistan and was known to be a man of capacity. But this it seems did not suit the Indian Government. Aman's eldest son, Nizam, who had taken refuge at Gilgit, made a try for the mehtarship which was only successful because he was believed to have the support of the Indian authorities; and on this support alone he found his safety depended. It was under these circumstances that Robertson's first mission came to Chitral. Nizam he speaks of as "for adequate reasons disliked by his subjects," and he "merely retained his regal authority

[1] "Chitral. The Story of a Minor Siege." By Sir George S. Robertson, K.C.S.I. (Methuen and Co. London. 1898.)

because he was the ally of the Government of India." This is his account of the fine result of his mission:—

> We were now committed to Nizam, and, poor creature as he was, he could not be abandoned, either in honour nor without distinct loss of prestige. It might not have been absolutely necessary to recognise and support him at first, but once my mission was at Chitral I found that its only hope of safety, and the avoidance of a big frontier war to avenge or deliver it, was to throw in my lot with Nizam and openly to use every means in our power to persuade the people to accept his rule.

Nizam was afterwards murdered by the orders of his brother Amír-ul-Mulk, who had been always looked on as an idiot; whereupon the Indian Government ordered Robertson to undertake another mission to examine the state of affairs. And this time the war of deliverance or revenge duly came about. In the light of Sir George's remarks on his first mission, what could be more criminal than the sending forth of the second? When the mission reached Chitral Sher Afzul in alliance with Umra Khan had already taken arms to regain the throne. Here is Sir George's description of the situation:—

> That a great majority of the people wanted him as their king was so evident that in a recent despatch I had explained to the Government of India that Amír-ul-Mulk was nothing more than a makeshift figure-head, to be cast aside and broken by the people at any time; and that there was little hope of a peaceful settlement in Chitral while such a *roi fainéant* held the nominal power. I expressed the opinion that the only possible mehtar was Sher Afzul.

But Sher Afzul was recalcitrant, and so the British Agent was forced into the ignominious position of acknowledging for a time as mehtar the murderer of the British nominee.

What were Sher Afzul's reasons for receiving Robertson's advances so ungraciously? Several are suggested—this among others, that all the border peoples had come to believe that it was only by a catastrophe like the one which overwhelmed the British at Kabul in 1842 that "the sleepless military yearnings of the Government of India" could be checked. However that may be, Sir George is certain "that there was a widespread conspiracy, having as its bed-rock an invincible suspicion of the real intentions of the Government of India." One thing, indeed, is clear: our conduct in Chitral cannot be defended by our favourite argument that we intervened in order to secure the good government of the country. Sher Afzul, whatever his faults, was obviously the most capable and popular member of the ruling family. We supported a series of weak and incapable rulers, and thus deluged in blood a country which would have been comparatively at rest under the masterful hand of Sher Afzul. Nor is Sir George a believer in that other favourite argument—the fear of Russia:—

> The real risk of the so-called Russian menace to India is not the danger of any invasion, but the wild alarm of the English Russophobes, who never consider that they may communicate their own fears to the general native population of India, and so stimulate that capacity, inherent in Orientals, for vague pessimistic speculation, as well as their own instinct for trimming, and for setting their houses in order against the advent of another possible conqueror. The loyalty of the timid Indian peoples is more highly strained by our own outspoken fears of Russia than in any other conceivable way.

The immediate results of the two missions were that in each case the British Agent had to acknowledge a mehtar whom he did not believe the fittest for the post; but in the second case even this did not avert his danger. The ultimate result was the permanent occupation of the country. If this was not intended, what are we to think of the absurd blundering which in spite of the lessons of the first mission sent forth the second? If it was intended, what are we to think of the perfidy with which occupation was over and over again disclaimed by the responsible authorities? Was Sir George the dupe of those who left him in ignorance of their real intentions? In any case the transaction is a foul blot on the English name.

CHRONICLE OF THE WEEK.

THURSDAY, November 17.—Mr. Chamberlain, speaking at a luncheon given in his honour by the president of the Manchester Liberal Unionist Association, said it was important that they should maintain their organisation, for Home Rule was not yet dead. It had not been repudiated by any of the Radical leaders; and they had declared that they still retained their old opinions. But it was no longer merely a question of Home Rule. The separation between themselves and their former colleagues had widened, till now there was a great gulf fixed which they could not pass over; and it extended to both foreign and domestic policy.

It was reported from China that the British Secretary of State for War had issued orders for the enrolment of a battalion of Chinese, 1,000 strong, for service under British officers at Wei-hai-wei.

It was announced that, being desirous to return home as soon as possible, the German Emperor would probably take the direct route, *via* Pola, and reach Berlin early next week.

FRIDAY, November 18.—From Vienna it was stated that within the next few days the four Powers would offer to Prince George of Greece the title and position of Supreme Commissioner for Crete. The appointment was in the first instance to be provisional. Each of the Powers undertook to provide a sum of £40,000 to meet the expenses of the administration.—Prince George arrived in Athens from Trieste and was warmly welcomed.

Sir E. Grey, speaking at Berwick, said the Opposition had supported Ministers in their difficulty with France because they felt the Government's line of policy to be right. As regarded our differences with the French, not only did he think that plain speaking had been inevitable, but he was afraid there would yet have to be a good deal more plain speaking.

A telegram was received yesterday morning at the Colonial Office in Paris from French Guiana stating that notification of the decision of the Court of Cassation had been made to Dreyfus.—The preface to Major Esterhazy's book on the Dreyfus affair was made public. He assigned as his reasons for publication that he must live and make a living for those dear to him, and that as those who dismissed him from the army had taken away his honour it was his duty to speak.

SATURDAY, November 19.—The information received from Paris led the Washington Government to believe that Spain would consent to the cession of the Philippines. The United States declined to accept the Spanish suggestion of arbitration as the President was resolved that no third party should be permitted to enter the negotiations. The American Commissioners would, it was said, in the first instance offer a sum of $25,000,000 in compensation for the Philippines, which might be increased to $30,000,000.—A society had been organised at Boston to oppose Imperialism and the annexation of foreign territory. Mr. Andrew Carnegie undertook to contribute $1,000 to its funds.

Prince Henry of Orleans addressed to M. Delcassé an open letter reviewing the history of the Marchand mission and of his own mission in Abyssinia from his own point of view. He declared that the attitude of France in presence of "the provocations of England" gave Europe "a great lesson of prudence and patriotism."

SUNDAY, November 20.—Sir George Baden-Powell, the representative in the House of Commons of the Kirkdale Division of Liverpool, died in London. He was 51 years old.

MONDAY, November 21.—A Cabinet Council was held at the Foreign Office.

At to-day's sitting of the Peace Commission in Paris the American delegates presented the reply of their Government to the last Spanish memorandum. It rejected the proposal of arbitration, insisted on the American interpretation of the Washington protocol, and offered, in exchange for the abandonment of Spanish sovereignty over the Philippines an indemnity of $20,000,000 and the admission into the Philippines for five years of Spanish imports on equal terms with American goods.

A new commercial treaty was signed between France and Italy, by which France conceded to Italy the benefits of her *minimum* tariff and Italy admitted France to her regular conventional system. An exception was made by both countries in respect of silk goods, which still remained subject to the *maximum* tariff duties.

It was reported from Athens that the announcement of Prince George's appointment as High Commissioner of the Powers in Crete was delayed by two questions—that of the Cretan flag and that of the duration of the Prince's mandate.

TUESDAY, November 22.—It was expected that more money than was offered on Monday would be given for the Philippines, including one of the Caroline Islands. Military and naval preparations, however, were not relaxed. The announcement of the proposed "open door" in the Philippines gave general satisfaction.

The documents to be sent out to Dreyfus would, it was said, be despatched by the "Martinique" steamer leaving on November 26, and would be received by the prisoner about December 15. Colonel Picquart was heard to-day by the Court of Cassation. It was thought that Colonel Picquart's deposition would occupy several days. M. Dupuy intimated that General Zurlinden would be left free to take any decision that he thought proper with regard to Colonel Picquart. A provincial paper conducted by M. Trouillot, Minister for the Colonies in the Brisson Cabinet, asserted that there was no secret *dossier* in the Dreyfus case, and no document which would possibly constitute a decisive proof of guilt.

WEDNESDAY, November 23.—Sir Michael Hicks Beach, speaking at a Conservative meeting in Edinburgh, said that the almost universal opinion throughout the United Kingdom, quite irrespective of ordinary politics, was in favour of

permanent British occupation of Egypt. No doubt the occupation of Egypt had cost us money, but the British taxpayer thereby secured that law and order should prevail in a country which was the highway to India. Besides, as the financial condition of Egypt improved under our control, great works were undertaken there by British contractors.

SIR W. WEDDERBURN, M.P., AND MR. W. A. CHAMBERS AT GLOUCESTER.

We take the following report from the *Gloucester Journal* of Saturday, November 19.

A meeting was held at the Liberal Club on Thursday night to hear an address on the subject of India from Mr. W. A. Chambers, C.E. (editor of the *Bombay Champion*), supported by Sir W. Wedderburn, Bart., M.P., and others. The chair was taken by Mr. James Fielding, who, in introducing Mr. Chambers, spoke of the immense responsibility which rested upon this nation for the good government of India.

Mr. Chambers, before commencing his address, paid a high tribute to Sir W. Wedderburn for the great interest he had taken for so many years in all matters affecting the welfare of India. He regarded Sir William as a representative in English public life of the feeling which prevented the thought of the country degenerating into Jingoism and matters equally pernicious. Although Sir William was honoured at home, in India there was no gentleman connected with English public life who was so much loved and respected as he. (Applause.) The object of his remarks that night was to appeal for "fair play" for India, and to endeavour to impress upon his hearers the enormous responsibility that rested upon the British voter for the just and right government of that great country. As their Chairman had said, they with their single vote had more power, so far as the Government of India was concerned, than the whole of the 250,000,000 of people in India. In speaking of India, and the responsibility of the English people, he wanted them to remember that the object of their political attacks should be not so much the Government of India itself, but the Government of India in London. There the responsibility lay, and there the attack must be made, and if he could succeed in showing that the position held by certain high officials in London was not used for the benefit of the people of India, he thought he should be entitled to ask them to direct their attack upon those gentlemen with a view of turning them out of office. He did not so much blame the Government of India for what went wrong there as the Secretary of State for India. At the present moment the Viceroy of India was Lord Elgin, who was about to retire from that high office, and the gentleman who was to take his place was Lord Curzon. The political reputation of the latter gentleman was not of the best, from their point of view, although he seemed to be shaping very well so far as India was concerned. There were two ways of governing India. As some people said it could be governed by the sword, as it was captured by the sword; or they could trust the people, and by trusting them give them fair play. He took it that his audience that night were in favour of the adoption of the latter method. (Hear, hear). Lord Elgin, speaking at a banquet in India, said that India was governed by the sword and if necessary it should be retained by the sword. Lord Curzon, addressing a number of gentlemen assembled at a banquet in his honour, used the same expression, but he added that they had to remember that "that sword was two-thirds of Indian manufacture." (Hear, hear.) He (Mr. Chambers) wanted them to dismiss from their minds that it was at all necessary to govern India by the sword, but if they had such a lurking idea he would ask them to remember Lord Curzon's remarks that "the sword was two-thirds Indian manufacture." The two chief posts at the India Office were at present held by Lord George Hamilton and another gentleman, Lord Onslow. If ministers did anything politically wrong in this country the electors had power by their vote—as some of them did in London by their municipal vote—to prevent them working them further harm, but in India they were helpless and hopeless in the hands of these people. So that when they heard so much concerning the misgovernment of India he would have them understand that he was appealing against the policy of Tory politicians, who, if they so attempted to act in England would be rejected or have their power curtailed at once. Dealing with three or four of the chief complaints of the Indian people at the present time, the speaker referred to the municipal government of Calcutta, which under a new Bill was proposed to be taken out of the hands of the Native municipal commissioners—who were unjustly accused of allowing the city to get into an insanitary state—and placed under the control of 12 men, only one-third of whom are to be elected by the ratepayers. Referring to the scenes of turbulence and unrest that occurred in Bombay and Poona during the plague, Mr. Chambers attributed them, not to any desire for insurrection on the part of the Natives, but to a want of tact and sympathy on the part of the local governors. Wherever a conciliatory and sympathetic policy had been adopted by the resident governors, everything went smoothly and well, but when that policy was reversed disturbance and riot followed in its train. With regard to the complaints that had been made in this country about the plague administration in India, and the allegation that the Indian people had shown themselves in their attempts to fight the epidemic practically incapable of the management of their own affairs, he himself had lived in Bombay during the whole of the plague outbreak, and could testify to the activity displayed and the excellent work rendered during that awful time by the Native municipal authorities. (Hear, hear.) But they had to remember that over the Native local commissioners was a Government commissioner, who had the power at such times to draw from the municipal funds whatever sums he required to deal with the pestilence. Therefore if blame attached to anyone for failure of duty it was to that official (which he did not allege) and not to the Native members of the corporation. Fortunately, however, from the agitation that had taken place on the subject in India, and the efforts made in this country in the same direction by men such as Sir W. Wedderburn, the harsh rules and regulations which had caused this turmoil and unrest had been altered, and others of a more conciliatory character had been substituted, so that they did not anticipate more trouble arising from plague stricken areas in India. (Hear, hear.) But one thing the plague had done, and that was to give an excuse to certain people in this country and certain people in India to pass into law an Act of Parliament known in India as the "Press Gag Act," which gave the judges power to pass a term of imprisonment for life upon a man whose writings were considered to have excited a contempt for the Government. The plague had resulted in many bad things for India, but the worst was the passing of this Act, and he had yet to learn that English people desired such a state of things to exist in any of their dependencies. (Hear, hear.) Continuing, the speaker referred to the establishment at Bombay and Poona of Press Committees, with the Chief Magistrate at their head, who sat and exercised a censorship upon the local Press. So that by there being at the head of affairs at Westminster two gentlemen of reactionary character, local self-government was being taken from the people, the liberty of the Press had been destroyed, and a Press censorship had been established. He did not think these things were in accordance with the wishes of the English people, nor in accordance with the wishes of the majority of the Indian administrators. (Hear, hear.) But the whole trouble arose from the fact of Lord George Hamilton and Lord Onslow being at the head of the India Office. If the hands of those gentlemen were free from reactionary proposals it might be argued that there was little or nothing to complain of. But the Indian people knew, and the Liberals of this country knew, that if the two gentlemen mentioned had had their way there would have been no London County Council to-day. (Hear, hear.) Fortunately for the civic management of London by the vote of the electors they were enabled to defeat that scheme, but unfortunately for India, what they were unable to do with regard to London they were able to carry out for India. They could not help themselves, but the English voter could do so at the ballot box when the time came by returning other men to power. (Applause.)

Sir W. Wedderburn, in addressing the meeting, said the one object they had in view was to see the people of India happy, contented and prosperous, but unfortunately for the past few years India had been suffering from war, pestilence, and famine, and to these evils had been added some harsh measures for the suppression of complaints. Fifteen years ago the people of India were contented and prosperous, because they were being governed on good Liberal principles, under a good Liberal Viceroy, Lord Ripon. (Applause.) India had friendly neighbours, a full treasury, and a contented people, and when Lord Ripon left the people assembled around him to express their gratitude and love for British rule. That was the way to govern India, and to make her, not a source of danger—a kind of powder magaz ne that would blow them into the air in a moment—but a tower of strength. (Applause.) England was responsible for the government of 250,000,000 of civilised people in India, who were men of like character with themselves, and if they were treated kindly they would love them, but if they oppressed them how could they expect love and loyalty in return? (Hear, hear.) The natives of India were a wonderful people, and it should be a source of pride to Englishmen that they should have the rule over this great nation. (Hear, hear.) Further, they were a people of extraordinary ability. In a recent competitive examination for the Indian Civil Service, held in London, one or two Indian gentlemen came over and competed, and although the examination was in English, they came out at the head of the list. (Applause.) Were those the kind of people they were to look down upon? (Cries of "No!") Some people might say that they were good at head work, but not physical work: Had not Prince Ranjitsinhji distinguished himself physically, and come over to this country and in some respects taught them how to play their national game of cricket? (Laughter and applause.) Then as regarded fighting. They were proud of their British soldiers, than whom there were no better soldiers in the world, and they were especially proud of the Gordon Highlanders and their gallant victory at Dargai and other places, but they had to remember the Gurkhas and the Sikhs who fought with them side by side, and showed them the way up the heights. (Applause.) His own view was that England was responsible for India, and had a duty to perform in regard to that country that ought to be carried out if even at a loss. But so far from its being a loss, it would be an enormous advantage to the industrial masses of this country if India were prosperous. They were our best customers for our export goods, and if India were prosperous there was not a single industry in England that would not be benefitted. But the prosperity of the people of India was being strangled for the advantage of a small official class. (Hear, hear.) Lord Curzon was a young man of great ability, and he (Sir William) had great hopes that when he got to India and saw the people face to face, his enquiring, capable mind would grasp the problem and he would feel the responsibility of his position, and although the new Viceroy was on the other side of politics to himself, he hoped he might, like Lord Mayo, adopt a just and sympathetic line of policy, and become a Liberal Viceroy although a Tory at home. (Applause.) Lord Curzon had made the remark that India was the pivot upon which the whole of our foreign policy turned. He (Sir William) thought that a true statement, for if they were anxious about Alexandria, Gibraltar, Malta, or up the Nile, it all had reference to India. (Hear, hear.) But if India were properly governed they need have no alarm, for India would fight rather than be separated from England if she were treated properly. But what was wanted was kindly treatment, and an application of the golden rule of "doing unto others as you would be done by." If this were done, he was perfectly certain that the result would be prosperity and contentment in India, and a marked benefit for the industrial masses both there and in this country. (Loud applause.)

The Rev. G. Milner moved the following resolution:—"That this meeting approves a policy of justice and sympathy towards India,

and desires that the great Dependency should be administered in the interest of the masses, both in India and in this country." Mr. Milner explained that he was present as a sympathiser with India, but not as a supporter of either political party. He said that his wife was born in India, and her relations lived there, and he himself had been interested in that country, although he had not been there, from his earliest days, when he lodged with two Indian gentlemen who in later years distinguished themselves in the professions they had chosen. But he felt that nations ought to act on the same principles as individuals, and to follow the golden rule of the Gospel. He believed in gradual political reforms for India, and hoped that the day would come when there would be a deeper sympathy existing between the dominant race and the native race, but he was afraid in trying to cast out caste they had introduced a caste of their own. (Hear, hear.)

Mr. Blackwell seconded the resolution because he regarded it as containing the very essence of all that was Liberal. Some people talked a great deal about adding to Queen Victoria's title that of "Empress of India." Personally he looked upon kings and queens as guardians of the people, and it was the duty of her Majesty, having been made Empress of India, to see, like a mother, that her children there were treated equally with the other portions of her great family. (Hear, hear.)

Councillor Underwood supported the resolution, which was carried unanimously.

Mr. A. Ashbee proposed a vote of thanks to the speakers, which was seconded by Mr. W. J. Arnold and carried *nem. con.* Mr. Chambers replied, and a vote of thanks to the Chairman concluded the proceedings.

It may be mentioned that among other letters expressing regret for non-attendance was one from Mr. Russell Rea, the prospective Liberal candidate for Gloucester. He regretted that the doctor would not allow him to attend on account of illness. He expressed strong interest in India and sympathy with Congress views.

MR. DADABHAI NAOROJI IN LANCASHIRE.

A Manchester correspondent writes to us as follows with reference to Mr. Dadabhai Naoroji's series of public meetings in Lancashire last week:—Beginning with a meeting in East Manchester—the Parliamentary Division represented by Mr. Balfour—he spoke successively at Castleton (in the Middleton Division of South-East Lancashire), at Chorley (in the Chorley Division), at Atherton (in the Leigh Division), and at Knutsford (in the Knutsford Division of Cheshire). From the reports received from each of these places it is clear not only that Mr. Naoroji spoke well and effectively (as he always does), but that the "people heard him gladly." "If," said one of the proposers of a vote of thanks, "we could have some more addresses like that of Mr. Naoroji in Lancashire, there would be no excuse left for the ignorance of India which now prevails"; and the tone of the speeches of all the chairmen and other speakers was to the same effect. In East Manchester Mr. Naoroji was supported by Mr. Alfred Mond, the adopted Liberal candidate for South Salford; and at Castleton he had by his side Mr. Duckworth, who won the seat for the Liberal cause last November, and who reminded his audience that it was on the Indian question that he spoke first and most frequently during the election. In Chorley—the centre of a constituency which returns a Tory unopposed—Mr. Naoroji had an enthusiastic audience of between 600 and 700 people; and he received a most hearty welcome from the constituents of Mr. C. P. Scott in the Leigh Division. If the meeting at Conservative Knutsford was smaller in numbers, it was quite as hearty and receptive as the others. It is impossible to exaggerate the value of meetings like these, where the electors are brought face to face with the problems of Indian government by a man who is not only thoroughly acquainted with them, but who, as a native of India, speaks with more intimate knowledge of and closer sympathy with the peoples of India than is possible for any Englishman to speak.

MEETING AT CASTLETON.

We take the following report from the *Rochdale Observer* of November 16:—

Under the auspices of the Castleton Liberal Association a meeting was held in the assembly room of the Liberal Club, Pleasant Street, Castleton, last evening, to hear addresses from Mr. Dadabhai Naoroji, ex-M.P. for Central Finsbury, and Alderman Duckworth, M.P. Mr. S. W. O'Neill, president of the club, occupied the chair, and was supported on the platform, in addition to Mr. Naoroji and Mr. Duckworth, by the Rev. A. Finlayson, Councillors Hilton, Ormerod, Ashworth, Logan, and Booth; Dr. Lord, Messrs. H. C. Platt, W. Butterworth, John Ashworth, W. Schofield, Geo. T. Collins, J. C. Marshall, W. Ewing, Geo. T. Ormerod, W. Hartley, and R. Howard. There was a large attendance.

The Chairman, in introducing Mr. Naoroji, said that gentleman, a native of India who had resided in England for a great number of years, was as able as any man possibly could be to speak on the relations between this country and our great dependency of India. It was surprising how ignorant the people of this country were of the social and commercial conditions of India. (Hear, hear.)

Mr. Naoroji, who was very cordially received, said the subject of India was as important as any now under the consideration of Great Britain; for the British Empire largely depended upon India, with its 300,000,000 people, for its greatness. He asked those present as Englishmen, and as rulers of India, to consider the weight of their responsibility in relation to that dependency. Englishmen were supposed to civilise and humanise the world, not to enslave other nations—they would not be slaves themselves for a single day, and therefore their relations with India should not be those of the slave-holder, those of the tyrant and the despot. He had lived in England 43 years, and had been a member of the House of Commons—(cheers)—and he knew that the British nation desired to treat India justly and righteously. One good result of the desire of the British people in that direction was that he was able to speak to them in their own language, for the rulers of India had been compelled to give the peoples of India a Western education. The Indian Mutiny was caused by the mismanagement of the administrators of the country, and their objectionable and unjustifiable conduct towards the Native princes. The loyalty of some portion of the Indian army, however, suppressed the disloyalty of the others. John Bright, who knew what the position was, suggested that a proclamation be issued to the people of India, and the result was the issuing of the proclamation of 1858, in which it was declared in the most emphatic manner that Indian subjects should be treated exactly as British subjects were treated. That document would make England's name illustrious for all time. That was the promise. The performance fell far short of it, but about 1866 some small instalment of the promises was carried out by a Liberal Government owing to a petition having been presented, of which he (the speaker) was one of the promoters. Six or seven years later the subject was revived, and the Government of India were compelled to advance a step further. Lord Salisbury had said that the policy of England towards India had been one of simple political hypocrisy. And the government of India was getting worse. He appealed to the electors present to exercise their votes in a manner likely to bring an end to what was a disgrace to the English name. They in Lancashire were carrying on a great trade with the world. But the exports of English and Irish produce to India was not more than a shilling or eighteenpence per head per annum. In India each native did not produce more than 30s. per annum; in England £41 per head was produced annually. In England they were able to pay 50s. per head for the purposes of revenue; in India they were not able to pay 5s. Even with free trade in India they had the most wretched trade that could possibly be thought of. There was no necessity to cruelly murder thousands of savages in Africa in order to obtain new markets for England. Here in India were 300,000,000 of people ready to trade with the people of this country if they would only act righteously and carry out the promises made to the Natives. Looking at the condition of Europe they saw that the nations were ready to fly at each other's throats; the "bloated armaments" were continually increasing. But India, although divided into many states, was prepared to remain loyal to England; the British supremacy was to their advantage if they were not treated as slaves. They in England could not understand the Indian famine by which millions of people perished. In England they heard of this famine only when there was a great catastrophe, but from year to year there were scores of people starved who had not even one meal a day. That was under British rule. Economically India was the most unfortunate and wretched place on the face of the earth. Their whole income was only 20s. to 30s. per head per year, and that was decreasing as they were being bled year by year by taxation. Lord Salisbury had said India must be bled. Was that to be their principle? He asked them to carry those words in their minds, to think over it, and ask themselves whether India should be governed in that manner. (Cheers.)

Alderman Duckworth, M.P., who was enthusiastically received, said he wished Mr. Naoroji was twenty years younger and had a commission to go about the country to deliver speeches such as they had just heard, because it was very necessary that the people of this country should be educated upon the affairs of India. When twelve months ago he started his campaign in the Middleton division the first subject he spoke upon was India. (Hear, hear.) He considered that it was a wrong policy on the part of this country to go to war with the tribes on the Indian frontier. It was a much wiser policy to so arrange matters as to make friends of the brave Afridis and other tribes. We sent expeditions amongst those people, burnt their villages, destroyed their crops, and took away their means of earning a livelihood. That was a strange way of cultivating friendship. (Cheers.) The best protection against any Russian encroachment on the frontier was in his opinion the friendship of the tribes. (Hear, hear.) The meanness of the Government when they had made war upon these people and sent out this punitive expedition was that instead of paying the piper themselves—for this was an imperial expedition—they actually made the poor Indian people pay for it. The British Government ought to have paid a part at least, if not the whole of it. The excuse of Lord

George Hamilton for ... paying was that he had it on the authority of the Indian Council that if the British Government offered to pay the expense it would be looked upon as a dole to India. That excuse seemed to come rather badly from a Government that had been regarded as the champion "dole giver"—(laughter)—to talk about this being a dole after they had given doles to the landlords, who received £45,000,000 a year in rents, and doles to support the schools of one of the wealthiest churches in the world, as well as doles given in other ways to their friends! The least England could grant to India was good government. We ought to think more of the teeming millions of India who depended upon us for good government. Sir Antony MacDonnell had said that in the government of India it was absolutely essential to observe the two great principles of law and order, and to maintain a sympathetic and kind attitude towards Indian feeling and wishes. He trusted that Lord Curzon would be an administrator after that style, and that he would prove that he was not only able and efficient—the speaker believed that he was a man of ability—but that he had some knowledge of India, and possessed the sympathy required by a man who occupied his exalted and responsible position. (Applause.)

MR. BIPIN CHANDRA PAL ON INDIAN ADMINISTRATION.

The following letter to the editor appeared in the *Manchester Guardian* of November 17:—

Sir,—As you have so kindly drawn prominent attention in your leader of this morning to the problem of Indian administration, may I, while thanking you for it, ask your permission to speak a few words on the same subject? I was in India when the appointment of Lord Curzon was announced. The educated Indian is a Liberal in politics. His sympathies are with the great Liberal party here, and nothing short of the return of the Liberals to office and the appointment of a Liberal statesman to the Indian Viceroyalty is likely to evoke his enthusiasm. But still Lord Curzon's appointment was well received. So long as Lord George Hamilton presides over the India Office, we should be glad to have anyone as our Viceroy who would not always submit to his mandates. Lord Curzon had that reputation, and we were glad of his appointment. India will receive the new Viceroy with an absolutely open mind. And may we not expect that his lordship also will go to India with an equally open mind? Lord Curzon's recent utterances are colourless and inconsequential. I trust this means that his lordship has not as yet made up his mind with regard to the many pressing problems on which we are all so anxious to have his opinion, for if only his lordship will keep his judgment in abeyance until he has seen everything with his own eyes, he may prove a good ruler in India. You ask him to try to see things from our point of view. We shall be satisfied with much less—if he will see them with his natural intelligence and judge them with the inborn instincts of an Englishman. It is because the general body of Anglo-Indian administrators do not judge us with these instincts that they so grossly misunderstand and misinterpret our attitude. If we had been judged by those ideals that are instinctive in freeborn Britons, the charge of sedition, for instance, would never have been so cruelly and so often brought against us. Indeed the poison seems to have spread even to this country, and I have been oftentimes asked within the last month and a half that I have been here if there was not a frightful amount of sedition in India; and some apparently educated men went even the length of associating seditious "Babus" with the frontier tribesmen who made war against England. And yet every educated Indian knows there is really no sedition in India. I have been connected with Indian journalism for the last 20 years; I have attended most of the sittings of the Indian National Congress, and have taken my humble part in the deliberations of that body, both in committee-rooms and in the public assemblies; I have travelled more than once throughout the length and breadth of the Indian continent, and my duties as a preacher of religion have brought me in contact with large numbers of my educated countrymen almost in every province, and if my testimony is worth anything, I can say this, that as a matter of fact, though there may be impatience here and there at the indiscretions of individual officials, though there is a growing sense of wrong in the community against the way in which criminal justice is, in a large percentage of cases, administered when the accused are Europeans, though there is dissatisfaction at the methods by which the higher posts in the public service are filled, there is absolutely no disloyalty among the educated classes in India. The Government is afraid of the educated classes because they are the most clamorous, while they are blind to the real source of danger.

For though there is no sedition among the educated classes, I will not deny that there is, not exactly sedition, but decided unrest among the uneducated; and if, therefore, any trouble should ever come to the Government in India, it will come not from the educated classes, but the uneducated masses. And the officials betray their ignorance by attributing to the educated classes what really is true only of the uneducated. Some may even do so from interested motives, for while the discontent of the educated classes may be attributed to a heated imagination overwrought with the sentiments of Mill and Burke, that of the uneducated is not so easily explained, and the admission may lead to serious questionings. But the truth is that there is widespread and growing discontent and distrust among the unlettered masses of our populations. And the masses are really not under our direct influence. English education itself has created a wide gulf between us and our uneducated countrymen. In this respect we stand almost in the same position as our rulers, only with this very important difference, that we can know and understand their feelings and sentiments and can trace the movements of their minds, which our rulers cannot do. The much-abused vernacular press in India has no influence with the masses. The lower ranks of ministerial officers of the Government and the higher classes of shopkeepers form the largest constituency of our vernacular papers; and both these classes have sufficient stakes in the country and enough good sense not to go in for mob-rule. Indeed they know that they will be the first to suffer from any outburst of lawlessness. The masses have evidently their own leaders, though it is almost impossible to know who they are. The Government could not find that out on the occasion of the Calcutta riots of 1897, though it does not require much intelligence to understand that such organised lawlessness could not have taken place without any leadership. Indeed, there seems to be an almost perfect system of secret communication among the unlettered classes in India. The Government had some idea of it during the Mutiny of 1857-8; but I doubt if they know anything about it even to-day. I was touring last autumn in the interior of Bengal, in course of my mission work. The trial of the Bombay editors was proceeding at the time, and I was surprised to find that the news of the incarceration of Mr. Tilak had spread among the most ignorant and uneducated classes in that outlying district hours before we knew anything about it, though the news reached us through the newspapers from Calcutta, which had received it by wire from Bombay. The masses have their own leaders, and an organised intelligence department evidently, of which neither the Government nor the "seditious" educated classes know anything. It is through these that all sorts of wild rumours regarding the military successes of the Sultan of Turkey are circulated in the Indian bazaars, that help to keep the imagination of the lower ranks of our Moslem population in a state of almost perpetual ferment.

I was in Calcutta when the plague broke out there last spring, and was a witness of the spirit of unrest that shook the whole city then. And I heard it from many low-class Mahometans that the Sultan with his allies, the Russians, would be in Calcutta in about a week's time, and till then they must hold out against the English and resist their plague policy. But all the world knows how the educated classes in Calcutta lent their support to Sir John Woodburn at that crisis. When the option of inoculation was offered by Sir John as a protection against compulsory segregation in public hospitals and camps, the community to which I have the honour to belong—namely, the Brahma Somaj community, whose late leader, Keshub Chunder Sen, visited England early in the seventies—was the first to accept it. I was myself amongst the first batch of Bengalees who had themselves inoculated, and the thing created quite a sensation in the town. People thought we should die, and crowds gathered about our houses to make enquiries about us; and when it was seen that the operation, whether it afforded any real protection against the plague or not, was absolutely harmless in its immediate consequences, the educated classes began to submit to it. But what did the uneducated classes say? They said there was three kinds of inoculation. One was with rosewater for the Englishmen, another was with pure water for the Babus—that is the higher and the respectable classes—while a third with poison was meant for the masses.

I heard this story from lots of people belonging to those classes who make riots in our cities—the day-labourers and the poorer artisans and the domestic servants—and nothing I could tell them would convince them that they were mistaken. Nothing but the most marvellous self-complacence—and the English official in India has this virtue—could dismiss these facts as due to mere ignorance. It betrays ignorance no doubt, but something more serious also; it betrays the deep distrust of the people in their rulers. The fact is that, after nearly two hundred years of the most beneficent administration that India ever had within the memory of history, the Indian populace believe honestly that their rulers can kill them in this wanton fashion by the administration of a most deadly poison. If the English people care for their great dependency in the East, they ought to call for an explanation of this from their representatives in India. It is a most sad and serious state of things. Can anybody explain it? Will Lord Curzon ponder over it, in the solitude of his cabin, as he goes to take up the burdens of his new office in India?

I have already encroached upon your space more than I had intended, and, if I have your permission, I shall offer my explanation of this sad state of things in India in a future issue.—Yours, etc.,

BIPIN CHANDRA PAL.

Manchester College, Oxford, November 15, 1898.

PATHOLOGICAL EXPERIMENTS IN INDIA.

The following memorial has been presented to Lord Curzon:—

To the Right Hon. the Lord Curzon of Kedleston, etc.

The humble memorial of the undersigned members of the *British Union for the Abolition of Vivisection* and others who have had personal experience in India either in the practice of medicine or in the Civil Service:—

Showeth:—

1. That your memorialists have learned with unfeigned regret that strenuous efforts are being made to raise funds from ruling princes and chiefs of India for the purpose of founding and endowing in "state territory," in commemoration of the Jubilee of her Majesty's reign, "a health institute," which shall bear the title of "The Indian Princes Victoria Health Institute"; the objects of which are stated to be,

(*a*) "The scientific study of bacteriology."

(*b*) "Researches regarding the causation of diseases."

(*c*) "Investigation of means for the prevention and cure of diseases."

(*d*) "The training of officers in bacteriology, and to carry out investigations on the above lines."

2. That your memorialists have also learned that the proposal to found and endow this institute has received the sanction and approval of the Government of India as "a fitting commemoration of her Majesty's long and beneficent reign"; whereby the Native princes and chiefs have been led to believe that in subscribing large sums in aid of the proposed institute they will testify in a manner grateful to her Majesty their devotion and loyalty.

3. That your memorialists are convinced that the proposal was not devised by either Moslems or Hindus, but was originated by scientific men in the service of the Government of India, of whom the most prominent is the Russian chemist, M. Haffkine.

4. That your memorialists are satisfied that it is the intention of the originators of the project to carry out the alleged beneficent objects of the institute largely through inoculations with the virus of various diseases, according to the systems of Koch and Pasteur; and also by experiments and operations involving continual and innumerable vivisections of animals. Your memorialists consider such practice of vivisection to be in itself morally unjustifiable; and they further remark that it is one which must be peculiarly abhorrent to the religious susceptibilities of many millions of her Majesty's subjects in India.

5. That your memorialists recognise that the alleged benefits of all systems of inoculation are still *sub judice*, while the grave political dangers which their use on a large scale will inevitably involve are patent to the most superficial observer of Indian character. It is only too probable that the natives of many Indian provinces will be disgusted by the unclean and (to their minds) defiling process of injecting into human veins the products of disease, whether of beasts or men; and they may even be infuriated by the discovery that their caste has been forfeited by the inoculations to which they have been subjected.

6. Finally, your memorialists implore you to refuse to sanction in this manner the possible introduction of the new *vice* of scientific cruelty among the various races of the great Eastern dependency of the British Crown which you are called on to govern; or to permit the presentation to the natives of India, in the name of our tender-hearted Queen, of an institute which may only too probably prove for them a huge object-lesson in cruelty.

7. For these reasons your memorialists humbly pray your lordship that on your arrival in India you will be pleased to place your all-powerful veto upon the proposal, and to intimate to the ruling princes and chiefs that the project of "the Indian Princes Victoria Health Institute" must be finally and completely abandoned.

The memorial has received the signatures of Surgeon-General Sir Charles Gordon, K.C.B., M.D., Hon. Physician to the Queen; Surgeon-General J. H. Thornton, C.B., M.B., John Norris, Esq., Q.C., late Judge of the High Court, Calcutta, Treasurer British Union; Mark Thornhill, Esq., J.P., late Judge of Sakarampore; Dadabhai Naoroji, Esq., Sir William Wedderburn, Bart., M.P., late Judge of the High Court, Bombay; Frances Power Cobbe, President of the British Union; Muriel Roscoe, Hon. Sec. British Union.

(REPLY.)

India Office, Whitehall, S.W., *November* 10, 1898.

Madam,

I have to acknowledge receipt of the memorial of the British Union for the Abolition of Vivisection relating to the establishment in India of an institute at which experiments may be made upon living animals in the course of scientific investigation. I have already received other communications on this subject, to which I have replied that the representations made will engage my earnest attention after my arrival in India, and that all efforts to guard against the infliction of avoidable pain upon animals in the course of scientific investigation will have my fullest sympathy, but that I prefer to wait till I have arrived in the country and have studied the question on the spot, before pronouncing a final opinion upon a matter which cannot be exclusively decided on general grounds.

I am, Madam,
Yours faithfully,
Curzon of Kedleston.

The Hon. Secretary of the British Union for Abolition of Vivisection.

Lord George Hamilton (writes the *New Age*) not so long ago stigmatised India as a "foreign savage country." But his circus-ring performances have, once for all, disqualified him as a true exponent of our national views. Those who know anything of India know that, before we reached anything like civilised life, the Indians had worked out for themselves the highest form of philosophy that any intellect can produce. It is refreshing to know that one of these very "savages" has attained a prominent position in the medical circles of Imperial London. Dr. Sarat K. Mullick has been made, after a keen competition, assistant physician and registrar to the London National Hospital for Diseases of the Heart and Paralysis. He had a brilliant career in the University of Edinburgh, gained double first-class honours, and left the university as senior prizeman in therapeutics and practice of medicine. He has already gained a prominent place amongst scientists of the day. An article by Dr. Mullick, on an obscure nervous disease, occupies the first place amongst the "Original Articles" of the week in the last number of the *Lancet*. We welcome such events as happy auguries in our relation with India, and look forward to the fruits of the good work thus begun.

The *Oxford Magazine* publishes its annual tabular statement of the 'Varsity records of the successful candidates for the Civil Service competition this year. Out of the ninety-four names it shows that Oxford claims forty-seven, Cambridge twenty-six, the Irish universities five, and the Scottish four. There are eight natives of India, of whom one has been rejected on his medical examination, a very rare thing. The first place is taken by Mr. Dale, of Balliol, since elected to a Fellowship at New College; he is the first Hertford and Ireland Scholar who has entered for the Civil Service competition. The second place is taken by Glasgow, the third by Trinity (Cambridge), and the fourth by Merton.

The friends of Mr. J. M. Maclean, M.P., will entertain him at a complimentary and non-political dinner in the Victoria Room, Hotel Cecil, on Thursday, December 8, on the occasion of his approaching visit to India. Sir Thomas Sutherland, M.P., will preside.

PUBLIC MEETINGS ON INDIAN QUESTIONS.

THE WORK OF THE BRITISH COMMITTEE.

Elsewhere in the present issue of India will be found reports of meetings addressed by Sir W. Wedderburn, M.P., and Mr. W. A. Chambers at Gloucester, and by Mr. Dadabhai Naoroji at Castleton. A Manchester correspondent sends an interesting communication regarding the successful series of meetings which Mr. Naoroji addressed in Lancashire last week.

On Tuesday last, November 22, Mr. Dadabhai Naoroji and Mr. Romesh C. Dutt, C.I.E., were present, and spoke at an important meeting held in Manchester by the Manchester Society for the Protection of Native Races. The Bishop of Hereford presided, and the speakers included Mr. Leonard Courtney, M.P., and Mr. C. P. Scott, M.P.

A public meeting was held at the Liberal Club, Wigton, on November 14, to hear an address on "England's Rule in India," by a lecturer on behalf of the British Committee of the Indian National Congress. Mr. Moore presided over a very full attendance, the room being crowded.

A public meeting was held at Aspatria, on November 17, when an address was given by a lecturer on behalf of the British Committee on "Some Liberal Reforms for India." In the absence from home of Sir Wilfrid Lawson, M.P., the Rev. E. T. Lovett presided. A discussion followed in which Messrs. Cobb, Brockbank, Stoddart, and Dodd took part, and all the speakers expressed their satisfaction with the information imparted by the lecturer, and their sympathy with the Indian people in their poverty and patient endurance.

The Women's Liberal Association at Keswick held a meeting in the Church Schools on Friday, November 18, to hear an address by a lecturer for the British Committee on "The Land System in India." Miss Pape, vice-president of the Association, presided over a large attendance. She said this was the first time that a lecture on India had ever been delivered in Keswick,

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